Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/09/11: CIA-RDP08C01297R000400240005-9

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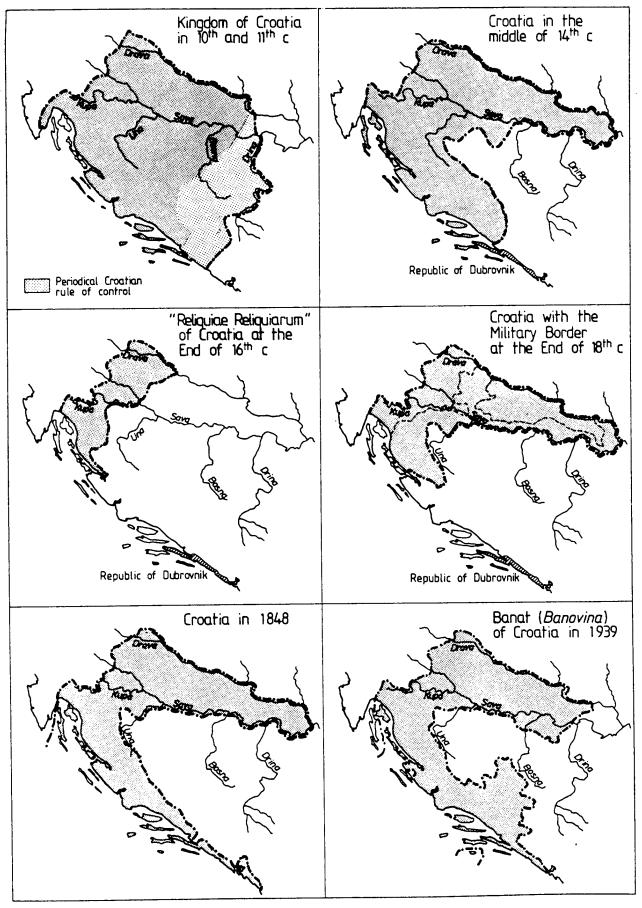
Scott M. Pusich, Department of Geography, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045. The Case for Regionalism in Croatia.

Following the disintegration of the Yugoslav federation in 1991, five successor states were established, and they have since been recognized by the international community and admitted as members of the United Nations (although the new Yugoslavia remains suspended from the UN). Each of these states (with the exception of Bosnia) is considered by its government to be the legitimate territorial expression of a single nation and thus has a unitary state system. The unsuitability of this approach for some states

is painfully obvious.

Croatia, for example, can neither prosper economically nor survive politically (given its recognized borders) if it remains a unitary state. This paper will explain the reasons why this is so and why the regional state model is more appropriate for Croatia. The study will briefly outline the history of statehood in the former Yugoslavia, and then focus on Croatia in particular. Political, cultural, and economic factors will be emphasized. The study relies on analysis of historical sources in combination with statistical data (both from former Yugoslavia and from Croatia). The study concludes that a regional state system is the best option for long-term stability in Croatia and suggests possible ways of implementing a regional state system in the current geopolitical milieu.

### HISTORICAL CHANGES IN CROATIA'S BORDERS

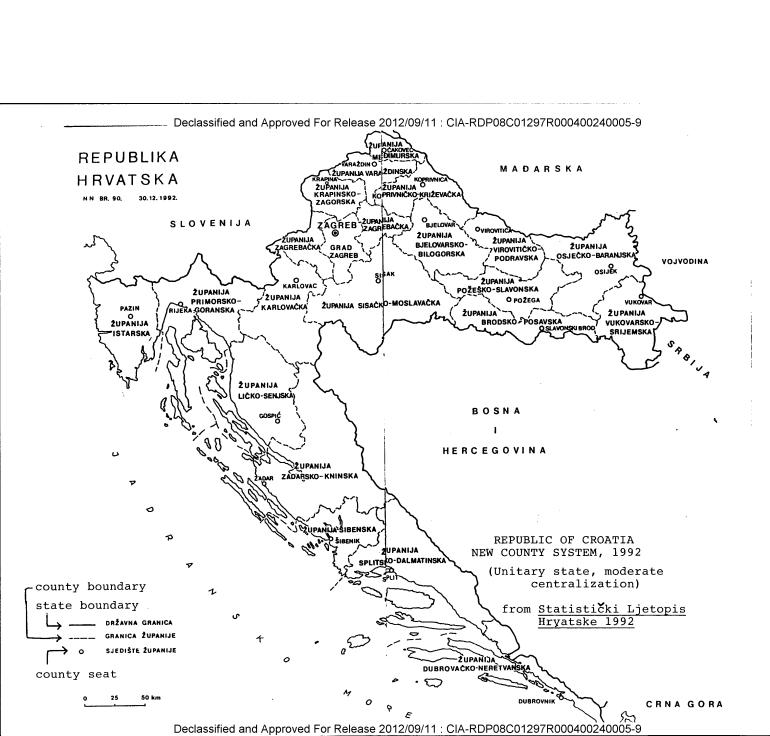


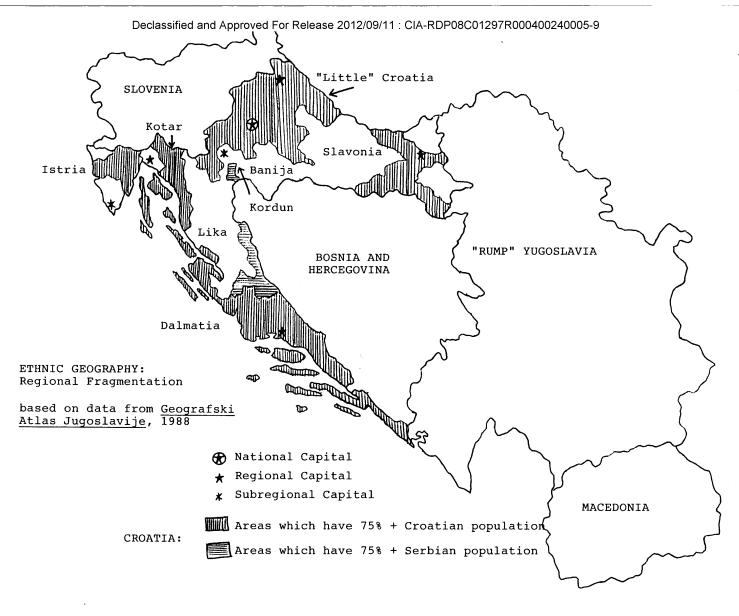
from <u>Geographical Papers</u> no. 8 (1991), Institute of Geography,
<u>University of Zagreb.</u> (English edition) 395



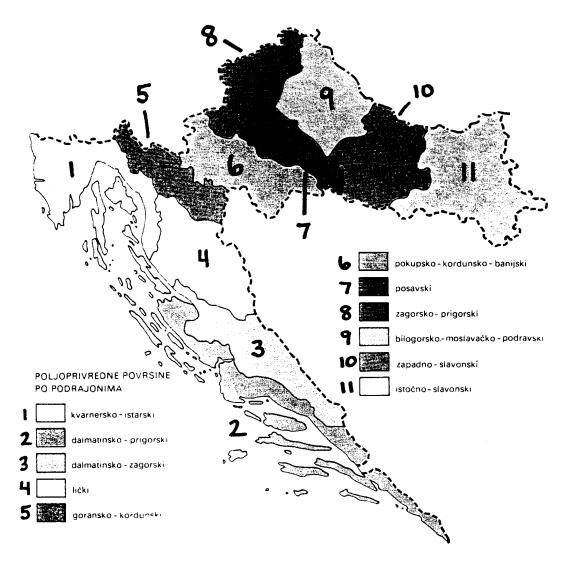
# Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/09/11: CIA-RDP08C01297R000400240005-9 Central Croatia Eastern Croatia Western Croatia GOSPIC SOCIO-ECONOMIC REGIONALIZATION OF S.R. CROATIA (communist regional plan) Southern Croatia from Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, vol. 5, 1988 DRUŠTVE-NO-EKO-NOMSKA RE-GIONALIZA-CIJA SRH centar regije centar makroregije centar regije i makroregije

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### **HRVATSKA**

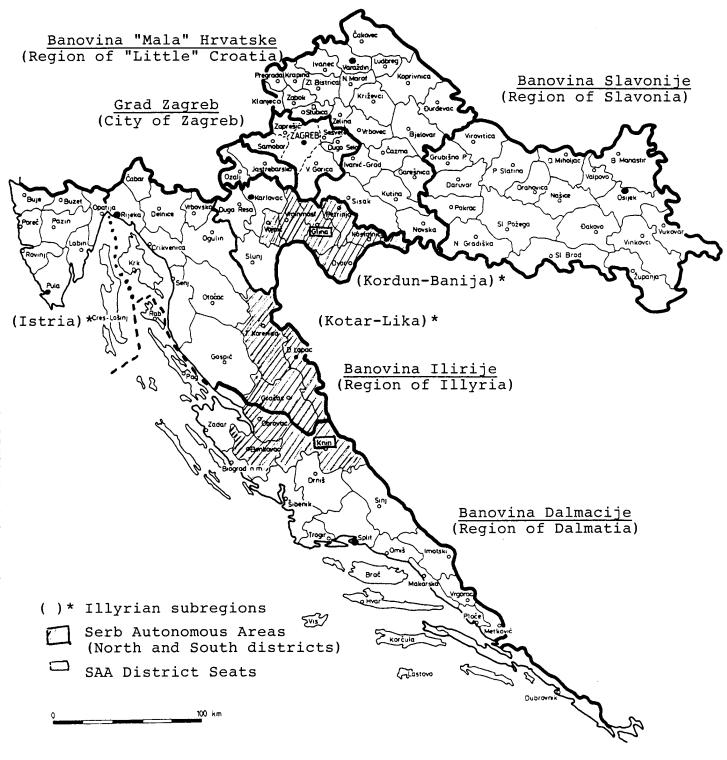


PROSTORNI RASPORED POLJOPRIVREDNIH REGIJA

CROATIA: SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL REGIONS Agricultural Areas by Subtype

- (1) Kvarner-Istrian
- (2) Dalmatian-foothills
- (3) Dalmatian-highlands
- (4) Likan
- (5) Mountain-Kordun
- (6) Kupian-Kordunian-Banijan
- (7) Savian
- (8) Highlands-foothills
- (9) Bilogorian-Moslavinian-Dravian
- (10) West Slavonian
- (11) East Slavonian

from Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, vol. 5, 1988



Communes in Croatia in 1981

REPUBLIC OF CROATIA: PROPOSED REGIONAL STRUCTURE Scott M. Pusich, Dept. of Geography, Univ. of Kansas 1994 AAG Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA

Commune map from Geographical Papers no. 8 (1991), Institute of Geography, University of Zagreb. (English edition)

### REPUBLIC OF CROATIA Regional Data

Population Slavonia "L" Croatia Dalmatia Zagreb Illyria Istria Kotar-Lika Kordun-Ban. TOTAL 4	898,003 (19 873,353 (19 863,354 (18 227,967 * 5 386,901 * 8	1.5%) 1.2%) 9.5%) 9.0%) 9.0%) 3.8%) 5.0%	1,006,249 962,698 961,024 950,232 880,141 244,402	(20.2%) (20.2%) (20.0%) (18.5%) * 5.1% * 8.3%	^Share (-0.4) (-1.0) (+0.7) (+1.0) (-0.3) *+0.1 *-0.1
Area Illyria Kotar-Lika Kordun-Ban. Istria Slavonia Dalmatia "L" Croatia Zagreb TOTAL	18,092 9,962 4,487 3,643 13,344 12,158 11,016 1,928 56,538	(32.0%) (17.6% (8.0% (6.4% (23.6%) (21.5%) (19.5%) (3.4%)	Capital Rijeka "" Karlovac Pula Osijek Split Varazdin Zagreb	1981 P. 159,433 55,031 56,153 104,775 169,322 39,545 649,586	1991 P. 167,757 59,658 62,690 104,553 189,444 41,728 703,799
Ethnicity (198: "L" Croatia Zagreb Dalmatia Slavonia Illyria Istria Kotar-Lika Kordun-Banija	88.2 82.2 78.4 64.2 62.0 72.4* 64.3*	* Serb 3.7 4.9 11.3 16.6 20.5 3.6* 18.6* 39.0*	3.7 7.0 6.8 11.8 10.9 11.7	1.0 1.2 3.1	Hungarian Italian Italian Hungarian
Ethnicity (199: "L" Croatia Zagreb Dalmatia Slavonia Illyria Istria Kotar-Lika Kordun-Banija	89.8 85.7 82.2 70.0 60.5 58.3* 67.7*	* Serb 4.6 5.4 11.6 17.8 21.5 4.5* 20.0* 41.2*	1.4 1.7 1.5 2.6 2.2 2.4; 2.2;	1.6 0.9 4.2 15.0	Muslim Hungarian reg, 1.6 It reg, 5.9 It  Muslim
Index of Nation Zagreb Illyria Kotar-Lika Istria Kordun-Ban. "L" Croatia	186.3 S 134.0 D 154.2* C 148.0* S 89.5* B	Slavonia Salmatia CROATIA	108.8 106.1 128.3 178.2 69.2	roslavia=1 SERBIA Vojvodina Kosovo MONTENEGI	95.7 a 127.6 32.7

(1) The History of Croatian statehood is divided into three periods

- A: medieval kingdom, united by King Tomislav (925-1102)
  - -union with Hungary, regions under different rulers
  - -at the end of this long period of foreign rule, Croatia was part of first Yugoslavia, had reg.aut. (1939-1941)
- B: Independent State of Croatia (NDH), (1941-1945)
  - -illegitimate, Axis quisling, massacred Serbs, defeat
  - -part of second Yugoslavia, Socialist Republic (1945-1990)
  - -end of this period, democracy movement, led by Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ), 1990 elections
- (5)
- C: Republic of Croatia (1990-present)
  - -first proclaimed sovereignty, attempted confederation with other Yugoslav republics, but negotiations failed -secession in 1991, followed by war, international
    - recognition in 1992, admitted to UN
  - -flag and shield used by new Croatian state predate the NDH Axis state--the shield dates at least from the founding of the Croatian Sabor or Diet in the late 1500s. Also used by Communists for the S.R. Croatia



#### (3) Current Structure

A: unitary state, moderate centralization (patterned after

France)

- -central gov't restricts power of local gov'ts
  - -powerful central ministries in Zagreb
- -new "zupanija" county structure, similar to French departments
  - -reduces regional identity and authority
  - -hostility to regional politicians and autonomy mvmts.
  - -this unitary policy led to Serb rebellion in Krajina against direct control from Zagreb
  - -some provocation from nationalist Croats (esp. Herc.)
  - B: I argue that Croatia should not be a unitary state
  - -unitary states have high degree of ethnic homogeneity
  - -also have national cohesion and a long shared history
  - -Croatia does not meet these criteria
  - -to preserve unitary structure the government in Zagreb is becoming increasingly authoritarian
  - (4) Need for Regional Structure in Croatia is evident
    - A: Croatia meets conditions ideal for a regional state
      - -regional state grants some autonomy to specific regions based on ethnic distinctiveness (Serb Krajina) or remoteness from central core area (Dalmatia)
      - -a regional state has a major core (Zagreb) with some

subcores (regional centers Split, Osijek, Rijeka)

- -Regional identities have developed under foreign rule in Dalmatia, Slavonia, and Istria
- -in the present, excessive centralization has been met with regional and ethnic dissent or rebellion

### C: The Ethnic Makeup of Croatia suggests a regional approach

- -Serbs have been present in Croatia for centuries, and they are an integral part of the Croatian state
- -present Serb majority areas in Krajina are a legacy of the Austrian Military Frontier against the Ottomans
- -Serbs fleeing Ottoman rule were encouraged to settle in these areas in the 1600s and 1700s
- -the Kordun/Banija area is especially noteworthy; Serbs in this area are less than 100 mi from Zagreb
  - -K/B was a crucial part of the defense of Civil Croatia from Turkish invasion
  - -these Serbs are accustomed to local autonomy or privileged status within Croatia, refuse direct control
  - -the Serb majority dominates Kordun-Banija, the area between the Kupa and Una rivers
  - -this is important for the regional structure I will be proposing







- D: The Regional Identities developed under a long period of control from outside powers (Venice, Hungary, Austria)
  - -the Communists gave some recognition to regions
- (13)
- -but only "socioeconomic", not administrative or political
- -regional names were avoided, and the communist boundaries did not match the historical regions
- -federal republic capitals still called the shots

#### (5) Proposed Regional Model



- -this regional system is based on political and economic regional autonomy, combined with ethnic autonomy where appropriate
- -regions delineated according to historical, political, economic, demographic, and ethnic criteria
- -I will now review 7 major features of the proposed regional system



### A: The first feature is Urban Geography

- -There is one major city Zagreb with a pop. of 650,000
- -and 3 regional cities of 100-200,000 each
- -The following cities are capitals of regions or subregions in the proposed regional structure and have distinctive characteristics:

- -Zagreb: as major core and national capital, own autonomy, has its own special history as a "royal city" (Hungary)
- -Varazdin: cap. of rural region surrounding Zagreb,
  was capital of Croatia, 1756-1776, "it's a baroque city"
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  Drava "river city" close to Danube, also Baranja
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- -Pula: Istrian peninsula, ancient Roman ampitheatre,

  Italian rule, marinas and tourism
- -Karlovac: Habsburg military outpost, Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, transport corridor, turbine and engine factories

### B: The second feature is Rural Geography

- -differences among agricultural regions are seen on map
  -note how agricultural regions match proposed regions
- -Hilly farming in "Little" Croatia
  - 25 -Plains farming in Slavonia
  - -Coastal farming in Dalmatia
    -Mountain farming in Illyria (w/ hilly, coastal elements)

#### C: The third feature is Economic Geography

- -each region has its own economic strengths
- -regions vary in national income (as seen in HANDOUT)
- -Dalmatia: tourism, Mediterranean agriculture
- -Slavonia: grain agriculture, food processing
- -Illyria: tourism (in Istria), shipping (in Rijeka)
- -"Little" Croatia: oil, nat. gas, livestock agriculture
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### D: The fourth feature is Political Geography

-distinct differences are evident in voting patterns for parliament of the first Yugoslavia



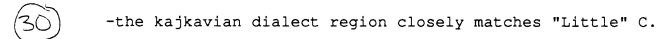
- -"Little" Croatia supported Croat Peasant Party
- -most of Illyria supported Serb Democratic Party
- -Presently, the major national parties in Croatia vary regionally in their support
- -there are also specific regional parties

### E: The fifth feature is Ethnic Geography



- -the ethnic composition of proposed regions varies
  - (as you see in the HANDOUT)
- -"Little" Croatia most homogeneous, Illyria least
- -Illyria/"Little" Croatia border matches ethnic border
- -Slavonia/"Little" Croatia border somewhat matches

- -Illyria/Dalmatia border does not match ethnic border
- -there are also differences in the Croatian dialects



### F: The sixth feature is Historical Geography

- -the historical regions match proposed regions to varying extent
  - -most evident for Dalmatia and subregion of Istria
  - -less evident for Slavonia
  - -least evident for "Little" Croatia

## G: The seventh feature is Physical Geography

- -physical boundaries also match proposed regional boundaries to different degrees
- -most evident for Dalmatia/Illyria, Illyrian subregions
- -less evident for Slavonia/"Little" Croatia
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#### (6) Now I turn to the Possibilities for Implementation

- TRANS -regional system makes sense, but requires compromise
  - -implementation unlikely with current leadership

(both in Zagreb and Serb Krajina)

- -moderate politicians need to come to power
- -influence of Hercegovinian Croats in gov't is strong
- -has led to reginal dissatisfaction and ethnic unrest



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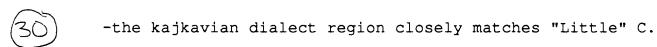
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